1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of cocoanut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living:

> The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in enbalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

flamboyant tree (*kenae, Erythrina indica*) was in flower, and to have been an hereditary affliction. 158

A modern Nuku Hiva informant told me of persons who run wild (*koea* or *horai*) sometimes going into desert regions to live.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Divination of the Cause of Sickness

Practitioners who were called upon to divine the cause of sickness and the like through possession were called, in general, *tau'a*. Those who made the god or spirit enter into their bodies through their mouths, so that they might prophesy and answer questions regarding sickness and death, were specifically called *pae'a*. These appear usually, if not always, to have been women. Their practice was spoken of as *ha'a topa te etua*, to cause the god to fall, or *ha'a u'u te etua*, to make the god enter. Dordillon's dictionary (8) gives *tihoka* as the term for the descent of a god into the body of a person. 756 741

On Hiva Oa the practice of a *pae'a* was described as follows: If someone were ill, a woman whose profession it was to divine the cause of sickness would be sent for. She would come and spend the night at the house of the sick person, or the sick person would be taken to a dark place outside the sleeping house. When the *pae'a* went through her experience of possession, there was always a large crowd of people looking on. The *pae'a* would open her mouth very wide and the god would enter her stomach through it. She would then speak in a whining voice, which was supposed to be that of the god, telling the cause of sickness and the probability of recovery. 755 787

Père Pierre (4) says that such practitioners worked only at night, in order that the *tau'a* might better hide the jugglery connected with his practice. After a piece of cloth had been laid out in the house of the sick person and the lights were put out, the practitioner (*tau'a*) would draw himself up to the rafters of the house, and stirring the thatch to make a rustling, would make a noise with his lips. These sounds were supposed to be made by the god. He would then let himself fall with a thud upon the cloth that had been spread out—the sound of his landing was thought to mark the descent of the god. In his natural voice, the *tau'a* would then ask, "Who are you?" In a false voice, he would reply, "I am N——," giving the name of some deity. Assuming again his natural voice, he would ask why the patient was sick, and a reply would come in a false voice. This, according to Père Pierre, was called *etua ha'a topa*, meaning, to cause the god to descend for consultation. It is not certain in my mind whether this is a description of the same practice as that given above,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

776 766 remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

776

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

● 791 754 776 Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The